716 drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which have been allowed to survive.

585 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. For a family with resources or the ability to borrow them, a wedding meant a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families often went heavily into debt to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung, and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves. The 584 births of male children were often celebrated as 862 were the betrothals, and other milestones of family and individual life. In modern times the 527 government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays, but these were little observed by the farm villages.

536 In addition to these occasions for relaxation, 538 intermittent special events added interest and variety to the routine of village life. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently, the story teller frequently appeared on the village streets to spin out his tales to an impromptu audience. The election 622 of a village headman often involved political 788 maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

582 787 his consideration. If he decided that the two horoscopes were compatible the marriage would be definitely arranged. If they were incompatible the proposal was dropped.

After the fortune-teller had approved, the bridegroom's horoscope was written on red paper and sent to the bride's family, through the match-maker. If, after examining the horoscope, the bride's family approved, they returned a "card of consent" by the match-maker. This constituted the engagement.

585 The wedding day was fixed by the groom's family, who sent a card to the bride's family giving the proposed date. If it was approved by her family they returned an "answer of consent". This was the "exchange of papers" between the families.

One or two days before the wedding the groom's family prepared a cart load of presents to be sent to the bride's family. The presents included twenty-four pieces of bread, a box of noodles, salt, rice, and one-half of a pig. The match-maker went with the cart. All the presents were kept by the bride's family except the pig, which they cut in two, keeping one piece. The other piece, along with the red boxes containing the bride's dowry, was returned to the groom's family by the match-maker.

The day before the wedding a woman whose parents, husband, and children were all living, and who was, therefore, a person especially blessed with good fortune, was chosen from the groom's family or from a neighbor's family to prepare the bridal chamber for the new couple. While she was sweeping the bed she said various charms such as "Sweeping here and there, we pray for the birth of a boy and for a girl running around on the bed". While she arranged the bed quilts she repeated wishes such as "pushing here and there, we pray for the birth of plenty of babies". Dates and chestnuts were usually tucked into the bed quilts as the words for date and chestnut together have the same sound as "to have sons early".

On the wedding day the groom bowed three times before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth before he set out for the bride's home. He and his company made quite a procession, the length, of course, depending upon the economic position of his family. The procession was headed by two men with firecrackers that were shot off to welcome the bride and by two men carrying lanterns. Then, walking closely together, came men carrying banners and men beating drums and gongs. Next came a cart with a group of musicians, then a cart with two attendants

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of the groom. Finally came two sedan-chairs, one red and one green. Going for the bride the groom rode in the red chair. The green chair was empty.

On arriving at the bride's home the groom and his party were met by a man who brought out four dishes of food, a jug of wine, and three cups. After the wine was poured into the cups and offered to the groom and his two attendants, the groom was conducted to the family parlor and given tea. If the bride's family could afford it a feast was served to the groom and his attendants. The poorer families served only tea. After the reception the groom was presented with flowers made of paper or silk and with a piece of red cloth, cotton, or silk. The flowers were put on his hat, the red cloth on his sedan-chair or over his shoulders.

The bride, arrayed in her wedding finery, which usually was rented from the wedding shop, was escorted to the red sedan-chair. On the return trip to his home the groom rode in the green sedan-chair. A teapot full of water was usually hung on the back of the bride's chair so that the water would drip on the road between the home of the bride and the home of the groom and insure a long, happy relationship between the two families. The bride usually asked two of her friends to act as her attendants. Their cart was ordinarily followed by four carts for the representatives of her family going to the wedding celebration. Well-to-do families sometimes had an extra sedan-chair for the bride's principal attendant, who usually was a married woman. Two men were invited to ride on horseback ahead of the bride's chair and lead the way for her to her new home. A man carrying a jug of water walked along by the bride's chair, ready to give her a drink if she became thirsty, but a bride seldom stopped for a drink of water on the way to her wedding.

The bride usually carried a mirror inside her wedding dress to ward off any evil spirits who might be along the way. If they should see their reflection in the mirror they would be frightened away. The bride also carried some black beans hidden in her wedding robes. She would throw some of the beans on the guests in the groom's home and around her living room to protect her from any trouble that might be caused by the God of the Star of Misfortune.

The wedding procession regularly returned by a different route so as to be seen in as many villages as possible. When it arrived at the groom's home two bundles of wheat straw were burned outside the gate and one

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585 of the groom's attendants threw a small cake over the gate. These indicated that the family would be more fortunate and prosperous after the wedding.

When the bride walked from the sedan-chair to the house cloth was put down so that she did not step on the ground. A saddle was placed on the door so that the bride stepped over it as she entered the house. As the Chinese words for saddle and peace have the same sound, the bride brought peace to her husband's family. Flowers were put down the back of the bride's dress as the word combination ju i means to bring good fortune. Sometimes straw was used instead of flowers. Chenille flowers were given to the bride in order to bring her good fortune.

On her arrival at the groom's home the bride bowed before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth as the groom had done before he set out for her home.

Friends and relatives gathered for the wedding, to congratulate the bride and groom and to join in the celebration. A feast was served for all the visitors. After the feast the bride's matron of honor invited the groom's parents and grandparents to worship before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth. Three cups of wine were offered to the gods. Later another three cups of wine were offered to the family ancestors. Then the older members of both families bowed to each other, congratulated each other, and pledged the future friendship of the families. The matron of honor, representing the bride's family, then said to the older members of the groom's family "We congratulate you on the happy wedding of your son" or some similar phrase.

When this ceremony had been finished the older members of the two families went to the nuptial chamber to see the bride and groom and make sure that everything had been properly arranged. Then the guests and relatives all congratulated the groom's parents. When the bride and groom stepped into the nuptial chamber the musicians hired for the occasion commenced to play.

522 The younger relatives and friends teased the bride and groom, made
585 jokes about them, and carried on the sport far into the night. The lamp in the wedding chamber was kept lighted throughout the wedding night, as putting it out would bring bad luck to the couple and it was believed that whichever one put out the lamp would be the first one to die.

431 Presents were given the bride and groom by friends and relatives. The
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close relatives of the bride usually gave clothing or jewelry. They sent their gifts a few days before the wedding so that they could go in the bride's chests when they were sent to the groom's home. For well-to-do families these presents might cost anywhere from four or five dollars up to 40 or 50 dollars.

Other relatives and friends usually brought their gifts when they came to the wedding. An "Account Book for the Wedding Gifts" was prepared and a man was asked to serve as secretary and enter in the book all the presents as they were received. The presents were generally scrolls, couplets, pictures, and money. Scrolls cost from $1.00 up to $10.00. Sometimes several friends joined together to give a specially fine one of silk or satin with gilt characters. Pictures cost from fifty cents up. A favorite picture, of a young mother holding a baby, carried with it the wish that a son might soon be born to the couple. Money presents usually ranged from fifty cents to $4.00. The money gifts all helped the family meet the expenses of the wedding.

The expenses of a wedding naturally varied with the financial status of the family, but almost always represented a relatively heavy expenditure. In Peking the cost of a group of weddings ranged from 1.5 to 9.0 times the monthly family income, but for one-half of them the expenditure was from 4.0 to 4.5 months income.[1]

A rough estimate made by our field workers of the total expense of a wedding in Ting Hsien was, for the groom's family, $200 for a wealthy family, $100 for a middle class family, and $50 for a lower class family. For the bride's family the expense would generally be about twice that of the groom's family, $400, $200, and $80. The average annual income of our 1,220 home industry families was $185. (See Chapter IV). For our 400 farm families the average was $247. (See Chapter III).

Food for the guests was four or five dollars per table of eight persons for a well-to-do family, two to three dollars per table for the poorer families. The dowry for the bride, which might cost from $15 to $100, usually included two pairs of boxes, a clock, a pair of jars, and a pair of mirrors. Often these conventional articles were rented from the sedan-chair shop, if the family could not afford them but wanted to make a proper showing when the bride's things were sent to her new home.

In some cases, where it was impossible for a family to finance a wed-

1. Sidney D. Gamble, *How Chinese Families Live in Peiping* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1933).

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

585 ding, they went through the formalities of an engagement for their daughter while she was still very young and with the understanding that she should go to live in the home of her future husband. The wedding was held when she and her fiancé were older but without any display or special recognition. An engagement of this sort naturally meant a great loss of face to the family and there seemed to be a general feeling that a match made that way was not quite in the same class as one made in the usual fashion. In 5,255 families in the 1st District there were only two girls listed as future daughters-in-law.

The day after the wedding the bride and groom went to pay a visit to her parents. A feast was served by her family in honor of the couple. After the feast the groom was presented to all the members of her family. The couple returned home in a cart provided by her family. The bride was then presented to all the older members of her husband's family. Later she was taken to visit the homes of her husband's relatives. Every family that she visited gave her a present of "visiting money", which might be from fifty cents up to one dollar but was never less than ten coppers.

On the fourth day after the wedding the bride's family sent two carts and invited the newly married couple to stay six days with them. On the sixth day the couple returned home in a cart sent by the groom's family.

Usually on the sixth or seventh day after New Year's following the wedding the bride's family sent a cart for the bridal couple and invited them to come for a visit that would last until the 16th of the month, over the Feast of Lanterns. Ordinarily this invitation was given for only the first New Year after the wedding, but enough well-to-do families did it for three years for the Chinese to have a proverb that says, "For the first three years a bride is not permitted to see the lanterns in the home of her mother-in-law".

After the wedding the bride was expected to make a pair of shoes for every member of her husband's family and to do the housework under the direction of her mother-in-law.

585 431 On the Dragon Festival, the fifth of the fifth month, after the wedding the bride's family sent a present of fish, meat, fruit, millet, and other foods to the groom's family. Again on the ninth of the ninth month the women of the bride's family all helped to make a special cake, about one foot long, to be sent to the groom's family. The cake contained sugar, dates, chestnuts, etc., again making the date, chestnut wish for children.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

581 Traditionally, it is for the furtherance of good-will between the two families that the marriage is arranged.

582 In the selection of mates, the Chinese follow the principle of exogamy, i.e., no two persons of the same clan-name can be married. The P'ing-chiao-tsun folks have not violated this rule. In this village, families of different clan-names are found. It is, however, difficult to explain why only one family has its daughter-in-law from the same village. All families seem to prefer to find wives for their sons from and to marry their daughters away to other villages. The areas of marriage-relationship are, however, limited to a ten mile zone. Thus, the villagers do prefer their relatives to be neither too near nor too far away.

There is no special preference given to cross-cousin marriage. While marriage of a girl to her father's sister's son is often welcomed by both families, a union of a girl with her mother's brother's son is repulsive. The flow of girls from one family to another in cross-cousin marriage seems to follow the principle of one-way traffic. There is, so to speak, no return.

584 Generally, a marriage is arranged by a go-between who may be a relative or a friend of the two families. Professional go-betweens are seldom engaged. Once an arrangement has been made, the two families consult a geomancer to determine whether there is any "inherited" obstacle to the union.

585 554 A wedding is indeed a great occasion for the whole village. The degree of elaboration of the ceremony varies in direct proportion with the financial ability of the family concerned. A rich family with a simple wedding would be degraded, but a poor family with an elaborate wedding is much criticized. The principle is to have one behave as would be expected in his position.

Formal invitations are seldom sent, but villagers and near relatives get the news much ahead of time. Indeed, in the preparation of a wedding, friends and relatives are very often invited to help, for instance, in the making of wedding gowns and other garments for the bride and the bride-groom and family members. Unrelated persons are not prohibited from participation, and they are invited to share the wedding supper provided they contribute in the form of presents. Consequently, a wedding is a joy to all, because one may get more than he usually contributes.

833 The act of copulation begins on the wedding night. Shortly before this, the newly-weds are in "courtship" with the husband

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North Chira AF12

Space is too limited to allow going into further details of the question of law and social order.[16] It suffices to say that villagers know very little about law and yet they seldom commit crime. The backbone of the social order of P'ing-chiao-tsun is customary sanction and not laws promulgated by governments. While the family is a very important unit in the process of ordering and control, public opinions in the form of gossips among villagers are too strong for any one to neglect.

Sacred Order

The maintenance of a social order in P'ing-chiao-tsun depends upon forces which extend beyond the secular into the sacred. There is no greater disturbance in normal life aside from military attacks than what is called by the social anthropologists the "life crises" such as birth, marriage and death. In addition to these life crises, the uncertainty of agricultural production due to "water and wind" should be also mentioned. Both life crises and agricultural crises may disturb any existing equilibrium in the social structure, and some means must be provided to have it re-established. When all secular means fail man, he has to appeal to the mystic powers in the unseen world. He has to rescue life from death; so he has to depend on religion.[17]

The birth of a child is called a happy event. But mortality is high. Parents are busy with other businesses of life and their knowledge of child care is limited. Anxiety over the security of an infant, under such circumstances, is very high indeed. Here, religion comes to the rescue. Many ceremonies of a magico-religious nature are performed in certain intervals such as three days, one hundred days and one year after birth to assure the child's life. When even these magico-religious performances fail, it is the fate of man and not the failure of gods.

Marriage is also a happy event, but the newcomer may be a trouble-maker, and the union may not be approved by gods and ancestral spirits. Performances of a magico-religious nature are made before, during and after wedding. As mentioned previously, the

16 A paper on law and social order in P'ing-chiao-tsun is in preparation.

17 Bronislaw Malinowski, "Magic Science and Religion", in Science Religion and Reality, edited by Joseph Needham, New York, 1925, pp. 19-84; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Andaman Islanders, A Study in Social Anthropology, Cambridge University Press, 1922.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

geomancer is consulted before the arrangement of the union of a man with a woman is decided. Shortly before the bride steps into the bridal chair, certain magical acts should be performed to drive away the evil spirits. After the wedding, the bride is led to the ancestral tomb so as to inform the spirits that a new member has been added to the family.

Illness and death are human sorrows. When a person is ill, his wife or her children, in addition to procuring medicine, proceed to a temple to burn incense before the gods. Death is a calamity; particularly so is the death of the main supporter of the family. When a person is dead, his relatives from near and far come to share the sorrow of his family, together with his friends and non-clan members of the village.

The degree of elaboration of a death ceremony, as in marriage, varies in direct proportion with the financial condition of the family. There is, however, one thing common to the ceremonies of all families and that is their magico-religious nature. Performances have to be made to send the spirit away from the dead body. The spirit has to be guaranteed the ability to reach "heaven" through "hell". The family members have to be assured that they will not be disturbed by the spirit of the dead.

In the field of agriculture, water and wind and insect pests may destroy the plants and the crops. While some of these outside dangers can be put under the farmer's control, there are many that he feels he cannot deal with. He is not quite willing to leave everything to fate and luck until gods have failed him. His mule-carts and working-animals have to be protected from evil spirits. He or his wife or one of his children has to burn incense before the gods at regular intervals of the year or month to thank them for the protection to human labor, to animals, to carts and to crops.

P'ing-chiao-tsun has a temple, but no collective worship has been carried on during recent years. No monk resides in the village temple. In case a monk is needed, he can be called to serve from temples in the neighboring villages. Many gods in the village are no longer popular, but *niang-niang* 娘娘, the goddess, is still functioning. Women pray to her for sons and later for protection of these sons.

A family may worship the gods in the house of residence. Peculiarly enough, only a few families have ancestral tablets. Ancestral worship is not popular in P'ing-chiao-tsun. Of all the house-

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WEDDINGS AND FUNERALS

511 WEDDINGS and funerals are always outstanding events in the social life of any Chinese family. Often they are equally important in its economic life. The expenditure for such occasions is usually large, and is apt to be a heavy drain on the family resources. In many cases, the household must go into debt to secure the necessary funds. The debt must be repaid, and probably large interest payments must be made, as well. As the prevailing interest rate in Peiping is 18, 24 or more per cent per year, repaying debts out of family surplus is likely to be a long process.

511 585 Many observers have commented on the large expenditures of Chinese families for weddings and funerals. They have recognized the fact that these occasions often are the cause of economic crisis for the household, but they seldom have given actual expenditures, or compared the amount expended with the size of the income. The weddings and funerals among the families included in our budget study made it possible to do this. As the families were reporting their other expenditures, there was little difficulty in securing complete accounts for these special occasions. Wedding accounts were secured from ten families, two for the families of brides, eight for the families of grooms. For one wedding, it was possible to secure figures from both the bride's and the groom's fam-

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ilies. The accounts include also figures for 17 funerals, one engagement party, and one birthday party.

In getting these records, we found that many families keep accounts for special occasions, even if they do not record their daily receipts and expenses. This probably is due to the fact that, the members of the family being occupied with other matters, the handling of the money is usually delegated to some friend or relative, who naturally must keep a complete and itemized account. Then, too, many friends send presents which must be entered in the special account-book, in order that, later on, when return presents are to be sent, the family may know how much was given them. There is every reason, therefore, to feel that the accounts are virtually complete. No special study of wedding and funeral customs has been attempted, except as they are brought out by the accounts. We must leave to others the detailed description of the many forms and ceremonies, their significance and symbolism.

The wedding expenses ranged from $61.10 to $853.75. The least expensive was the wedding of the daughter of a ricksha man whose income was $17.75 a month; the most expensive, that of the son of a family with an income of some $250 a month, and considerable surplus deposited in the bank. In terms of family income, the wedding expenses ranged from 1.5 to 9 times the average monthly income, but for one-half of them the expenditure was from 4 to 4.5 months' income. The feast to celebrate the engagement of a son, together with gifts to the prospective bride, cost one family $324.20, or 1 month's income.

Funerals are often costly, but it is surprising how little is spent for some of them. The least expensive funeral

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511 x 431 The fact that wedding and birthday presents go to the person giving the feast, rather than to the guest of honor, is evidence that presents of money are definitely given to help the family meet its unusual expenses. Additional presents of money are sometimes made direct to the guest of honor, but only by the family and close friends. Such gifts, of course, do not appear in the accounts.

511 • 585 In Peiping, a wedding means new clothes and a feast for both families; gifts from the groom to the bride, often a present of jewelry; the purchase of equipment for the new home by the bride's family, the sending of this equipment and the bride's belongings to the groom's home, the day before the wedding; the wedding procession with the bride riding in a specially decorated sedan chair, carriage, or automobile, usually accompanied by a band and carriers with banners, lanterns, and other decorations; and, finally, the wedding ceremony in the groom's home, or possibly in a restaurant, if the family follows the new wedding customs. The amount spent for the different items varies, of course, with the tastes and social position of the family, the amount they can spend on the wedding, and whether they follow the old wedding customs or adopt the new customs that seem to be gradually coming into use.

For the ten weddings studied, the expenditure for clothing varied from $21.35 to $414. The detailed accounts show that, for most of the families, a large part of this clothing expenditure was for cloth. In most of the families the new clothes were made in the home by the women of the household. Tailors were employed only by well-to-do families. One family paid $16.90 for making the new clothes, another $17.40, still another $25. In three

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WEDDING PROCESSION BANNER

"May your sons win the Chuan Yuan (highest literary degree), and all the honor, position and wealth that go with it."

WEDDING CHAIR

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of the accounts, the cost of the new clothing was over one-third (37 per cent) of the wedding expenditure. Two of these three accounts were those of brides' families, so it seems evident that in Peiping, as well as in other countries, a large proportion of the wedding expenditure is for the bride's clothes. In the other accounts, the proportion spent for clothes varied from 12 to 20 per cent.

House repair and new house equipment, even when added together, are relatively small items in the accounts for the grooms' families. The amounts ranged from $2.55 to $70. Often the only expenditure was the cost of repairing and repapering the house. The usual proportion seems to be from 4 to 6 per cent. One bride's family, the poorer one, spent only $2.45, 3 per cent, for house equipment items. The other spent $172, which was 21 per cent of the wedding budget.

In the old-style wedding, the bride's family and the groom's have separate wedding feasts, each inviting their own friends and relatives. The bride's feast is held before she leaves her own home for her husband's, as it is a farewell to her. After her marriage, she becomes a member of her husband's family, and ceases to belong to her parents' household. The groom's feast is served either before or after the arrival of the bride, depending upon the number of guests, the available space, et cetera. In any case, the bridal couple and the groom's family are served after the wedding ceremony. In the new-style wedding, which is often held in a restaurant, the feast is served after the arrival of the bride and the signing of the wedding contract.

The expenditure for everything connected with the wedding feast, food, fuel, service, tips, wine, tobacco, the rent

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WEDDING CARRIAGE

The wedding chair or carriage and all the paraphernalia of the procession are rented from the wedding shop.

RECORDING WEDDING PRESENTS

A record of wedding and funeral presents, most of which are money, is important, as the amounts will determine the size of the return gifts.

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of extra equipment, varied from $31.25 to $324.60. For one-half the families, the feast took between 42 and 88 per cent of the wedding expenditure. For the other half, the range was from 26 to 31 per cent.

The rooms in most Chinese houses are small and not well adapted to the entertainment of a large number of people; so, if the feast is held at home, a pavilion of reed mats, or cloth, is usually erected temporarily over the courtyard to provide space for serving the wedding feast. Even this, however, does not ordinarily provide space enough to serve all the guests at one time. The mat pavilion and the necessary tables, chairs, and other equipment are usually rented. For the pavilion, the rent varied from $3 to $33. For the tables and chairs, the largest rent was $15. One family spent $28.80 for the rent of table covers, a door screen, carpets, silk hangings, et cetera, to be used as decorations in the room where the feast was held.

Electricity is not readily available, so a high-pressure gasoline lamp is often rented to light the mat pavilion, instead of using ordinary kerosene lamps. The rent for these gasoline lamps varied from $1 to $3.60, the amount probably depending upon the length of time the lamp was used.

Food for the wedding feasts cost from $19.19 to $260. Meat is not a large item in the diet of most families, but it is always prominent in any feast. Pork is by far the most popular meat. For one feast, the meat cost $35.95 and the rice, flour, cakes, noodles, et cetera, $34.10. In another, the expenditure was $115 for meat, and only $14.50 for rice, bread, noodles and flour. In many Chinese feasts, rice is served only with the last course and is a

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small item. It probably is true that the smaller the expenditure for the feast, the larger the proportion spent for flour, rice and noodles. Although not so much esteemed as meat, these foods are cheaper and are needed to provide the necessary quantity.

For the various condiments, the expenditure is usually a few cents for the different kinds of seasonings, and considerable amounts for tea and the cooking oils, especially lard and sesamum oil. The list includes the so-called 1,000-year eggs that have been pickled in lime, pickled gourds, preserved jellyfish, jellied fish skin, ginger, vinegar. The list of vegetables includes yellow bamboo shoots, yams, lily roots, bean sprouts, leeks, yellow flowers, cabbage, onions, garlic.

Even the poorest families had the wedding feast cooked for them. The cooking and serving of the feasts held at home cost $1, $3, $4, up to $20. When the feast was held in a restaurant, service, of course, was included in the restaurant charge. Besides their wages, the various helpers are usually given tips. The total in tips for the different families ranged from $1.10 to $53.05, the amount naturally tending to increase as the cost of the wedding increased. The details of the largest amount bring out some interesting items. The restaurant servants were given $19.50, which was virtually 10 per cent of the bill; other servants were given $8. The musicians in the wedding procession received $6, the coachmen $4.15, a chauffeur $2. Servants who brought wedding presents from friends were given a total of $6.55. The police on special duty at the restaurant received $2. The wage of a caretaker, who watched some of the wedding equipment

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outside the restaurant, was 17 cents, his tip $1. Beggars were given 42 cents.

In Peiping, when a guest comes to a feast in his own ricksha, carriage, or automobile, it is the custom for the host to give the ricksha man or driver a tip, or *fan ch'ien,* food money, as it is more usually called. This is a custom so generally accepted, that any attempt to omit the tip, or appreciably reduce it, is likely to bring trouble. If the feast is held at a restaurant, the tips are usually 20 cents for a ricksha, 40 cents for a carriage, and 80 cents for an automobile. The carriages and automobiles ordinarily have two men. If the feast is served at home, the family usually decide the amount they will give. Ordinarily it is 20 coppers, 5 cents, or 10 cents for a ricksha, and proportionately more for carriages and automobiles. One family spent $6.65, another $11 for this item.

Wine is nearly always served at wedding feasts. Where it was separately reported in the accounts, the amount varied from $1.15 for the ricksha man's family, to $10.50 for the most expensive wedding. Other families spent from $3.50 to $5. Tobacco for some families cost only a few cents, others spent up to $6 for cigarettes.

When the time comes to bring the bride from her home, the groom sends a specially decorated red sedan chair, carriage, or automobile, to fetch her. The rent of these sedan chairs was $21 to $55. These amounts probably included the charge made for the old-style Chinese band with its long gilt horns and gilded drums, and for the men who carry the lanterns, banners, fans, symbols that are part of the old-style wedding procession. They are all furnished by the shop that rents the wedding chair, and would be included in the one charge. In one case, where

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511 585 the items were segregated, the chair cost $30, the music $10, and the carriers $25. Sometimes one or two green sedan chairs accompany the red wedding chair. One is for the bride's attendant, and the other for a woman from the groom's family, sent to welcome the bride.

Carriages for one wedding cost $38. In this case, the bride rode in a specially decorated carriage instead of a sedan chair. The wedding procession was a row of carriages escorted by a modern band. The charge for the band was $24.

Other transportation—rickshas, carriages, and automobiles—is often a considerable item in a wedding account. The actual entries varied from 73 cents to $22.40.

In Peiping, the bride's trousseau and house equipment are usually sent to her new home on a number of red tables, each of which is carried by two men. The longer the procession, the more "face" it gives the family. In order to lengthen the procession, families often rent equipment they are unable to buy. If the weather is rainy, the bride's belongings are covered with transparent oiled paper, so they may still be seen, even though they are protected from the weather. One family paid the carriers $4, another $22. In one case, the family of the groom paid $12 for carrying their presents to the bride's home. The presents cost some $220.

The old-style weddings ordinarily include the worship of the family gods, bowing before the ancestral tablets, and kotowing to the older guests. Sometimes the kotow is made to the family shrine rather than directly to the guest who is being welcomed. The worship of the family gods ordinarily involves the use of incense, but this was listed in the expenses of only two families. It was a small

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item, only 21 and 73 cents. We have no way of knowing how many other families used it, but evidently there were several who did not, as the new wedding ceremonies omit the worship of the old gods. One family spent 16 cents for a new paper god, and 26 cents for paper money to be burned.

When the bridal chair arrives at the groom's house, he shoots three blunt arrows at the bottom of the chair, in order to scare away evil spirits. In alighting from the wedding chair, the bride steps on, or over, a horse's saddle to signify that she is bringing peace to the family. The Chinese words for peace and saddle have the same sound. Another interpretation is that the saddle ceremony signifies the bride is bringing good luck to the family, and promotion to her husband, since officers ride horseback. One authority [3] reports that apples are put under the saddle, as the combination of the Chinese words for apple and saddle make another Chinese word for peace, *p'ing-an*.

Another double meaning is responsible for the custom of the bride and groom eating chestnuts and dates, the combination meaning, "to have sons early." *Tzŭ-sun po-po*, or "sons and grandsons dumplings," are also presented to the bride and groom.

In the modern-style wedding, many of the old customs are omitted. The principal part of the ceremony is the signing, or rather sealing, of the marriage contract by the bride and groom, their attendants and the representatives of their families. The certificates used cost $1, $1.20, and $2.50. One family spent 40 cents for a marriage contract, another $2.45 for a seal.

A photographer is often called in, to make a record of

[3] Ha. 12.

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511 special occasions. The pictures of a funeral cost $7.60;
585 those of an engagement party $8.60; those of a wedding $22.

The Chinese custom has been for parents to arrange the weddings of their children. Many times the bride does not see her husband until she arrives at his house for the wedding. The services of a middleman are often employed in finding a family with a marriageable son, or daughter, and in arranging the details of the wedding. By using a middleman, the "face" of the family is saved if the negotiations do not go through. The one middleman appearing in the accounts received $4 for his services in arranging a second marriage for a man who had been left with three small children under seven years of age. In this case, as the bride came from a poor family, the groom sent them money to help meet the wedding expenses. The middleman does not appear more often in the accounts, because he is usually given a present for his services, rather than a sum of money.

Invitations sent to wedding guests cost from $1.60 to $5. Less than half the families reported this expenditure. Some of the families who omitted the invitations were poor. Others did not send invitations, in order to save expense and bother for their friends and themselves.

When the family of the groom send to the family of the bride the cards fixing the date of the wedding, they often send with them a pair of geese. Geese are chosen because these birds are faithful to their mates. Since red, or pink, is the Chinese wedding color, and white denotes mourning, it would be a bad omen if a white bird were sent as a present in connection with a wedding. To overcome this difficulty, a red band is sometimes painted

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around the bird's neck. Sometimes the entire bird is painted red. It is generally the custom for the bride's family to keep one of the pair of geese and return the other to the family of the groom. In Peiping, however, lower-class families often rent the red geese. These are received by the bride's family, and then returned to the shop.

The detailed expenditures of the funerals cover a wide range. The coffins cost all the way from $1.20 to $205. The cheapest was an unfinished box made of light boards. The most expensive was made of wood six or seven inches thick, and finished with a fine varnish. As might be expected, there seems to be a tendency to fix the price of the coffins in even units, $10, $25, $50, and $100.

No coffin was entered in one of the accounts. Investigation showed that it had been properly omitted. None had been purchased. The deceased belonged to a Mohammedan family and the Chinese Mohammedans do not use coffins when they bury their dead. The body is carried to the cemetery in one of a number of different-sized boxes kept for that purpose at the mosque. At burial, the body is taken from the box and placed in an undercut gallery in the earth, with the head to the north and the face turned toward Mecca in the west. When the grave is closed, the gallery is not filled, and an open space is thereby left around the body. Some of our informants say this is done so that the dead may have room to kneel toward Mecca five times a day. The mound over a Mohammedan grave is usually a truncated pyramid, in contrast to the rounded mounds over ordinary Chinese graves.[4]

[4] Reported by Dr. W. B. Pettus of the College of Chinese Studies, Peiping.

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tails bring out many facts that do not appear in the summary of the different expenditures, especially the small amounts spent for some items and the large amounts used for others. The fact that this is new as well as original material also makes it advisable to give the details of the individual accounts.

Besides the detailed expenditures and the amount of the gifts received from friends, any available information is given concerning the size of the family, its economic position, the method by which it secured the money needed to meet the extraordinary expenses. These added details should make it possible to visualize, more clearly, what the weddings and funerals meant in the economic life of these families.

Wedding No. 1

A ricksha man spent $61.10 for the wedding of his sixteen-year-old daughter—for clothes, presents and feast. This was a little more than 3.5 times the family's average monthly income. The man earned some $10 a month pulling a ricksha, and his wife some $2 for sewing and washing. The rent of two of the three rickshas owned by the family brought in a little less than $5 a month. Two boys added their bit by picking up enough fuel to meet the family's needs.

Clothing for the bride cost $18, and other items of her personal equipment—cloth, soap, toothbrush, garters, et cetera—$2.15. Clothing for the family cost only $2.40. This may have been rent for the special clothes worn for the wedding day. Extra equipment for the house amounted to only $2.45. One of the principal items was 40 cents for red paper flowers, one of which was presented to each of the guests.

The feast cost $31.30, including $19.20 for food, $7 for service and tips, $3 for the rent of the mat shed and tables and chairs, 85 cents for fuel, and $1.25 for wine and tobacco. Meat for the

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feast was only 22 per cent of the expenditure for food. Young garlic was the principal vegetable. Noodles were served rather than rice. The cook was paid $1 for his services, and the maid-servant 260 coppers (68 cents). The carriers who took the bride's wedding presents to her new home received $4. Ricksha and cart fare amounted to $2.05.

The wedding guests gave money presents amounting to $32.70. The family met the rest of the expenses by borrowing $24 and collecting $10 they had loaned to some of their friends.

Wedding No. 2

A family of four, with an average income of $30 a month, spent $94.35 for the wedding of their twenty-two-year-old son. This was more than three months' income, but the presents from the invited guests amounted to $169.80, or enough to meet the entire cost of the wedding and still leave a surplus of $75.45. Friends also gave the bride and groom two mirrors, two cups for use when brushing their teeth, and a red banner inscribed with characters wishing them long life. The bride was eighteen years old.

Eighty-six per cent of the wedding expenditure was for food, or a total of $81. Meat, almost all of which was pork or pigs' knuckles, cost $35.95, or 45 per cent of the entire food cost. A little more than one-half the $34.10 spent for grain, flour, cakes, noodles, et cetera, was used for rice. White flour cost $12.60, but noodles only 150 coppers, 39 cents. Only $2.60 was spent for 11 kinds of vegetables, $7.35 for 21 kinds of condiments, and $1.05 for bean powder and bean curd. The principal vegetables were yellow bamboo shoots, cabbage, yams, and leeks. The chief condiments were lard, tea-leaves, sweet-oil, bean sauce, salted mustard root, sugar, salt. Seventy-eight cents was spent for dried bean pods, used to wrap up meat and vegetable rolls. The complete details of the food expenditure are given below, in order to show all the kinds of food used and the amount paid for each.

Fuel cost $4.10, and tips totaled $1.10. Rent for the gas lamp was $2. The paper gods cost 16 cents, paper money 26 cents, and

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incense 21 cents. Thirty cents was spent for a toothbrush, and 5 cents for a tongue scraper. The wedding invitations cost $1.60. For some reason the account does not show any expenditure for music, the bride's sedan chair, or service. The month before the wedding, the family spent $19.95 for clothing. The clothing expenditure for the second half of the budget year was only $8.80.

Meat	**$35.94**	**Condiments**	**$7.33**
Pork	24.00	Bean Sauce	1.11
Pigs' Knuckles	10.00	Lard	1.00
Eggs	1.79	Tea-leaves	1.00
Dried Shrimps	.15	Sweet-oil	.95
Flour	**$34.10**	Dried Bean Pods	.78
Rice and Rice Flour	19.01	Salted Mustard Root	.78
Wheat Flour	12.60	Sugar	.58
Bread and Cakes	2.10	Pickled Beans, Gourds, etc.	.43
Noodles	.39	Salt	.36
Bean Powder and Bean Curd	**$1.03**	Vinegar	.12
		Preserved Jellyfish	.08
Vegetables	**$2.61**	Dried Plums	.05
Bamboo Shoots	.57	Ginger	.03
Yams	.47	Pepper	.03
Cabbage	.45	Mustard Seed	.03
Leeks	.36		
Bean Sprouts	.18		
Garlic	.13		
Onions	.10		
Green Vegetables	.10		
Carrots	.02		
Soup Herbs	.02		

Wedding No. 3

When a forty-six-year-old man with three children—six, four and two years old—lost his wife, he arranged another marriage almost immediately. His wife died in July,[7] and he was remarried early in September. His usual earnings selling metal were only some $37 a month, but he was also receiving some $28 a month interest. He saved virtually all of the interest, putting it

[7] The details of the first wife's funeral are not given here, as she died at her home outside of Peiping.

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into several savings societies. From one of these, he received $175 at the time of his wedding. This was more than enough to meet the wedding expenses of $146.20, an amount that was a little more than twice his average monthly income.

The bride came from a poor family, so the groom's wedding expenses included $50 sent to her family to help meet the cost of their wedding festivities. He also helped buy the bride's new clothes. Clothing for both the bride and groom cost $28. Instead of using the old-style sedan chair, the groom sent a motor-car for the bride. He paid $8 for it. Food for the wedding feast cost $36, the cook received $3, and the rent for the mat pavilion, extra tables and chairs was $3.50. Five dollars was spent for new bedding, and $1.50 for plastering and repairing the two-room house. Jewelry for the bride cost $6, the wedding certificate $1.20. The middleman who arranged the wedding received $4 from the groom. This item does not usually appear in the accounts, as the middleman ordinarily is given a present rather than a sum of money.

Wedding No. 4

A family of eight, owning their own home and property enough to give them $19 a month in rent, spent $110.80 for the wedding of their third son. The other two sons were married, and both were contributing to the family income. There was one two-year-old grandson. The total family income averaged $75 a month. The wedding expenses therefore were equivalent to a little more than 1.5 months' income.

Food for the feast cost $27.40. Cakes, noodles, et cetera, were the largest item, $13.75. Of this $9.60 was for *hsi mien,* or happy noodles, a dish often served on special occasions. When these are served it means that the feast is not an expensive one and noodles are the principal dish. Only one-fifth of the food expenditure was used for meat. Ten kinds of condiments cost $3.70. Sweet-oil, yellow pickle, and tea were the principal items. Yellow flowers, onions, and yams were the chief vegetables, but the entire expenditure for vegetables was only 82 cents. The

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cooks were paid $4. Fuel cost $5.25. Tips amounted to $5.75. Wine for the feast cost $3.50 and tobacco 16 cents. Cloth and clothing came to $21.35.

The rent of the sedan chair sent for the bride, the decorations for the wedding procession, and the carriers of the decorations cost $27, other transportation $2.45. As the bride's family supplied the new house furnishings, only $2.55 was spent by the groom's family, and half of that was for freshening the wall-paper and getting a new reed mat for the *k'ang*.

The wedding certificate cost $1, and the marriage contract 40 cents. Seventy-three cents was spent for incense for the wedding ceremony. The jewelry given to the bride cost $9. The invited guests gave $47. The family had been saving for the wedding, so had sufficient surplus on hand to more than meet the balance of the wedding expenses. A short time after the wedding, the father of the family died. His funeral expenses amounted to $257.15. (Funeral No. 13.)

WEDDING NO. 5

When he came to Peiping to be married, an officer in Chang Tso-lin's army brought $300 with him to pay part of his wedding expenses. His family spent some $200 more, as the total expenditure was $529.50, and the money presents amounted to only $27. The family account showed a deficit of $506.55 for the year. Even without the wedding, they were spending more than their income. The groom was a widower. His two daughters were living with his parents.

The largest item in the wedding account was $220 spent for presents for the bride. These were bought the month before the wedding. Food for the wedding feast cost $88.40, the mat pavilion $9.60, the rent of the tables and chairs $7.40, wine $5, labor and tips $28.30. The latter item included $6 for the cooks, and $12 for the carriers of the presents sent the bride. The family spent $45.30 for clothing the month of the wedding, and $20.90 the previous month.

House equipment, including $2.40 for papering, $2 for a

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blanket, $3.60 for a willow box, amounted to $16.50. The invitations cost $1.90, fresh flowers and paper flowers, $1.45. The two daughters of the groom were given a present of $2.20.

The sedan chair for the bride, and the wedding procession cost $21; carts and carriages for women members of the family $5.70; other transportation $19.80. The groom took his bride with him to Mukden, the railroad tickets costing some $30.

Wedding No. 6

For this wedding, we were able to get the complete accounts from both the bride's and the groom's families, as both were keeping records for us. Ordinarily the accounts of only one family were available.

The total expenditure for the two families was $1,333.90. The groom's family spent $816.65, and the bride's $517.25.

The twenty-two-year-old groom belonged to a family with ten members. The three men were all working, one as a merchant, another as a writer, and the third in one of Peiping's modern industries. The average family income was $88 a month. A small part of this came from rent, as the family owned their house and let some rooms. The $816.65 spent for the wedding was a little more than nine months' income. The cash presents amounted to $199.65. The family had been saving for the wedding for some time, so apparently had sufficient funds to meet the extra expenses, although the account showed a deficit for the year of $378.90.

Clothing for the family cost $309.90, including $232.50 for silk, and $17.40 for the tailors. New furniture and other equipment for the house came to $152. Repairing, repapering, and replastering the house totaled $20. Jewelry for the bride cost $25.

Food for the wedding feast cost $166.65. Of this, $115 was for meat, and only $14.50 for rice, flour and cakes. Noodles were the principal dish in the feast for Wedding No. 4. Here rice and noodles would be served only with the last course. Pork was the principal meat. Sixty-two dollars was spent for it, and $18 for chicken and fish. Nuts were a relatively large item,

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costing $10.30. Of this, $3.40 was spent for peanuts and melon seeds, and $4.90 for water-lily seeds. Fruit, which often is a very minor item, cost $9.25. Wine for the feast cost $5.50. The cooks were paid $18 for preparing the feast. Tips to various people brought the amount for service to $29.35. Rent for the mat pavilion was $20, and for tables and chairs $9. Fuel cost $8.

The wedding shop was paid $55 for the use of the bride's chair, and for the carriers and equipment for the wedding procession. Carriage and carfare amounted to $15.30.

The $517.25 spent by the bride's family was a little more than seven times their average monthly income. The presents they received totaled $122.50. The family borrowed $220, but even then the budget showed a deficit of $104.35. It will not be easy for them to save the equivalent of almost five months' salary. The family consisted of a man, his two wives, the twenty-one-year-old bride, and three younger children.

The amount entered on the wedding account for clothing for the bride and her family was $190.10. Some $86 of this was for silk and satin, and $65.80 for cotton cloth. Shoes cost $11.10, and stockings $4.30. The tailor received $16.90. The family also spent $59.85 for clothing the month before the wedding.

The bride's dowry included household equipment which cost $69.95. Among other items were a pair of camphor boxes, two other pairs of boxes, a dressing-case, mirror, vanity-case. Porcelain jars, bowls, cups, et cetera, cost $19.40; and a spittoon, oil bottle and two toothbrush cups, $2.80. The bride's jewelry, earrings, jeweled flower, et cetera, cost $49.50.

The wedding feast cost $136. Probably it was held in a restaurant, as the food was not itemized and there was no rent for a mat pavilion. Wine served the guests cost $4.80, and cigarettes $1.15. Tips to drivers, servants, et cetera, amounted to $14.45. For carrying the bride's belongings to her new home, the family paid the wedding shop $22. The wedding invitations cost $2.20, and the red silk flowers for the guests $1.80.

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Wedding No. 7

A teacher with an income of a little less than $100 a month spent $458.65 for the wedding of his twenty-one-year-old son. The bride was twenty-two. The family of six included the groom's parents, his grandfather, a younger sister, and one servant. Two brothers had died of typhoid fever six months before the wedding.

Wedding clothes cost the family some $65, new equipment for the house $22.15, repapering the rooms $6. The sedan chair and musicians sent for the bride cost $20, and $6 was paid for the carriage used in making visits and calls.

The feast evidently was served at home, as the mat pavilion cost $13, the tables and chairs $15, and the gas lamp $3.50. Food for the feast cost $260; tips of all sorts $20; and photographs of the wedding $22.

The account shows the wedding presents to have been $600. This was almost $150 more than the wedding expenses, and a most unusual amount. It was surprising, too, to find the family putting anywhere from $32.55 to $93 a month into savings societies. Most of this, however, was the reinvestment of capital funds. The income from salary, land rent, and interest was approximately enough to meet the family's ordinary needs.

Wedding No. 8

Another teacher, a Manchu, spent $466.60 for the wedding of his younger brother. This was equal to 2.25 months' income. Besides the man's salary of $140 a month, the family received $14 a month from rent, $20 a month as interest, and occasional sums for special work. With the presents totaling $243.30, the family was able to meet the wedding expenses without borrowing. There were six in the family, all but one of them adults.

Special clothing for the wedding cost $30, beds and bedding another $30. The wedding shop charged $30 for the sedan chairs for the bride and her attendants, $10 for the musicians, and $25

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for the men who carried the lanterns, banners, et cetera, in the wedding procession. The motor-car for the bridegroom cost $6.

The rent for the mat pavilion was $33, the tables and chairs $8, the kitchen utensils $5, the gas lamp $3.60, and colored silk to be hung in the pavilion $7. The total for the feast food was $220. The cooks and table boys were paid $20. Cigarettes cost $6.

Food money given guests' ricksha men, drivers, and chauffeurs amounted to $11. Other tips also totaled $11.

Besides the money presents, friends gave the bridegroom 11 pieces of silk and six of cotton, 14 pairs of red scrolls with gilt characters, four baskets of fresh flowers, $6 worth of tea-leaves, and seven small ornaments.

Wedding No. 9

The most expensive wedding in this group cost the groom's family $853.75, or four times their average monthly income. The same month, the family spent $324.20 for the engagement presents and feast for another son. The total, $1,177.95, was equal to almost six months' income. The wedding presents received amounted to $255.90. The rest of the expense the family met by drawing on its bank account for almost $1,000. Without the wedding and engagement expenses, the account showed a small surplus. Six adult members of the family were living at home.

Clothing for the family, bought at the time of the wedding, cost $414.45. Of this, $350 was for silk and satin cloth, $14.20 for cotton to pad the winter clothes. The tailor received $25 for making the clothes. Pink silk gloves for the three women in the family cost $3.20, and three pairs of men's gloves 75 cents.

Repairs on the house cost $14 and new equipment $30.35. Of the latter amount, $16 was for new curtains, $8.70 for pictures, and $3.60 for strips of satin used for special decoration.

The wedding was a new-style ceremony and was held in a restaurant. The bill for the feast food was $192, for wine $10.50, and cigarettes $3.60. Besides this, there was $35.80 for the rent

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of special equipment furnished by the wedding shop rather than the restaurant, $4.80 for the tables and chairs, $2 for a new carpet, 40 cents for another red carpet, $23.20 for silk decorations, $2.20 for a gas lamp. Flowers, both fresh and artificial, cost $11.55. Tips of all sorts amounted to $55.20. The restaurant men were given $19.50, approximately 10 per cent of the bill; coachmen and chauffeurs for the wedding party received $6.15; servants bringing gifts, $6.55; the policeman detailed to the restaurant, $2; the flower girls, $1. The chauffeurs, coachmen and ricksha men of the guests were given $6.65 for food money.

Transportation for the wedding party cost $42.95. Of this $38 was for carriages, and only $3.20 for automobiles. The latter was probably the amount of the tips given to the chauffeurs of cars loaned by friends. As it was a new-style wedding, a specially decorated carriage was used for the bride, rather than the old-type sedan chair. The old-style banners and decorations would not be used for the wedding procession, which evidently was a line of carriages escorted by a modern band. The shop's charge for the musicians was $24, and the men were given a tip of $6.

The wedding invitations cost $5, the wedding certificate $2.50, the special wedding seal $2.45, the wedding account-books 36 cents, other miscellaneous items $3.20, a total of $13.50.

ENGAGEMENT

For the one wedding engagement entered in the accounts—that of a son—the expenditure was $324.20. The same month the family spent $853.75 for the wedding of another son (Wedding No. 9).

The engagement presents sent the son's fiancée were a jeweled ring costing $150 and cloth costing $50. The restaurant charge for the engagement feast was $45. The family also spent $12.60 for cakes and melon seeds, 80 cents for tea, and $1.40 for cigarettes. The motor-cars for the occasion cost $15, rented flowers $3.50, flags for decoration $2, a rented victrola $2.50. Tips to the servants came to $11.50.